

Assessing the Role of the Internet in the Democratization of Governance: A Comparative Analysis of the Development of E-Governance in Indonesia since 1998.

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学位の種類	博士 (情報科学)
学位記番号	情博第 481 号
学位授与年月日	平成 22 年 3 月 25 日
学位授与の要件	学位規則第 4 条第 1 項該当
研究科、専攻	東北大学大学院情報科学研究科 (博士課程) 人間社会情報科学専攻
学位論文題目	Assessing the Role of the Internet in the Democratization of Governance: A Comparative Analysis of the Development of E-Governance in Indonesia since 1998. (ガバナンスの民主化におけるインターネットの役割についての評価: 1998 年以來のインドネシアにおける E-ガバナンスの発展をめぐる比較考察)
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論文内容の要旨

Chapter. 1 Introduction

In recent years the Internet has changed dramatically. The 'Web 2.0' with its new technologies such as Twitter, Facebook, or YouTube is now an important tool for social-networking with significant implications for both, the online and offline realms of society and politics. At the same time, while the development of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) has advanced in an unprecedented speed, the spread of such technologies was accompanied with significant political changes in Indonesia since 1998, marking the collapse of the Suharto-regime and the move towards a democratic governance system. After more than three decades of authoritarian rule, 'democracy 1.0' has marked a fundamental reform process creating new political parties and allowing the free expression of opinion. This is a study on assessing the role of the Internet in the democratization of governance; a comparative analysis of the development of e-Governance in Indonesia since 1998.

Chapter 2 .Theorizing the 'e' in Governance, Government, and Democracy and the Links that bind these Concepts

The concepts of e-governance, e-government, e-democracy and e-campaigning a theoretically and practically linked offline and online. In this study, a concept of governance which refers to the process in which non-state actors (i.e. NGOs, NPOs and private corporations) are increasingly involved in public service provision and policymaking as the traditional functional domain of the state performed simultaneously at and across the local, the regional, the national, and the global levels of governance. Thus, the notion of e-governance can be understood as referring to the processes by which ICTs are utilized

within the system of governance in complex organizations and institutions, taking place simultaneously across these different levels of governance.

Here, I identify at least three different ways in which the Internet can be utilized with regard to governance processes. First, e-government describes the notion of how the state utilizes ICTs with regard to processes and mechanisms through which its citizens and other non-state actors obtain access to basic government information in order to provide better services at the entire level of governance. Second, e-campaigning refers to the utilization of ICTs by relevant actors involved in campaigning (i.e. political parties, candidates, citizens, interest groups, mass media etc.) for the purpose of engaging in the formulation of a collective public opinion. Finally, e-democracy describes the way in which the state utilizes ICTs in order to achieve improvement of the policy-making process, through enhancing the level of participation of the various actors in the policy- and decision-making processes.

I have based on the model provided by Lee (2007) seen that the process by which governments embrace e-government schemes can be divided into the following four stages: cataloging, transaction stage which comprises non-financial and financial online services, the degree of vertical integration, i.e. the extent to which the central and local systems are integrated in the provision of online services and the degree of horizontal integration across the different functional levels of government.

The method applied in this study is a theoretical, comparative and quantitative approach. The scheme of e-governance will be used to address the following research questions: to what extent does Indonesia's government use the Internet for providing public service?, to what extent are Indonesia's political parties utilizing the Internet with regard to providing information to and communicating with the electorate?, and how the interest group or active citizens utilized internet in the process of democratization governance process in Indonesia since 1998.

Chapter 3. E-Governance in the US and Japan: A Comparative Perspective

From the comparative analysis, it has become evident that the Internet has played a great role in the US governance process. The e-government schemes applied in the US have reached complex stages of development and comprise a vast set of public services (e.g. the 'USA.gov' portal site). E-campaigning in the US has developed primarily for distributing information, creating political networks, promoting discussion of politics, thus for mobilizing political and financial support. The presidential campaign run by Barack Obama in 2007 and 2008 provides an illustrative example how effective politicians can communicate with potential voters, to raise massive amounts of money and to register potential voters adding them to the Obama and thus the Democratic Party network. With regard to e-democracy in the US, the Internet has enabled a transformation from citizens passively receiving information to more active citizen participation allowed through schemes such the Electronic Town Hall Meeting.

In contrast, while Japan enjoys a high level of Internet diffusion, the Internet has yet to cause a significant impact in the country's governance process. Even more different is the situation in Japan with regard e-campaigning, which is highly restricted by the country's election campaigning law and which represents a crucial factor in the lack of e-governance implementation. Some authors argue that Japan has imposed some of the most rigidly restricted election campaigning laws While the US has adopted a relatively unregulated system allowing for the use of the Internet for campaigning and Indonesia has no law

which controls the use of the Internet by political parties and politicians during election campaigns.

Yet, even under the strict election law in Japan, this study has shown that the Internet in Japan is opening up new channels for parties, candidates, interest groups and individuals to obtain and diffuse political information. Therefore, I have concluded that Japan has fairly advanced technological implementation but a lack of coordination and a lack of actually operating e-governance schemes. A summary of this comparison is provided in table 5.1 below.

Table 1: A Comparative Perspective on E-Governance

	US	Japan	Indonesia
E-Government	High quality of public service	Informative of public service	Very early stage; limited online services
E-Campaigning	Raising supporter and finance	Internet as a part for campaign activities	Enhanced citizen participation through new online channel
E-Democracy	Involve large number of citizen in online dialog	Partly responsiveness from politicians	Contribute citizens Mobilization
E-Governance	Highly advanced implement of e-governance scheme	Fairly advanced technological implementation but lack of coordination and lack of e-governance scheme	Very early stage of infrastructure development but yet less impact on e-governance implementation

Source: Compiled by the author.

Chapter 4. E-Governance in Indonesia: The Role of ICTs in Indonesia’s Governance Reform since 1998

Indonesia’s political architecture changed dramatically from authoritarian rule towards new democratic governance. Here, two important issues in the context of governance reform in Indonesia have been pointed out: First, decentralization aims at transferring authority from the central to the local government. The second issue is the reform the party system after Indonesia’s return to democracy in 1999. Here, the rigid system of control imposed on existing political parties and the ban on establishing new parties was lifted, a new electoral system was introduced, and the media were granted substantially more freedom.

The study has illustrated that in the age of ICTs at the end of the year 2009, the results suggest that many government agencies have mastered the catalog stage of e-government. Obviously, given the early stage of e-government in Indonesia, I have argued that with regard to e-government in Indonesia little evidence exists according to which e-government has enhanced public-sector service performance or citizen trust in term of transparency and accountability.

With regard to the role of e-campaigning in the political process of Indonesia , this research was undertaken in the context of the 2009 elections and discovered that Indonesia’s political party websites contain only very limited opportunities for dialogue between citizens and the parties/candidates. Despite

encouraging signs, the overall findings suggest that most parties have been slow to embrace the concept of e-governance and to adopt strategies of e-campaigning. In this respect, the 2009 election can be labeled as 'the first Internet election' Indonesia has witnessed, even though only a minority of the Indonesian public currently has access to the Internet. This development has been largely stimulated by the choice of the media to actively embrace the use of ICTs. In doing so, the media has made information on political issues easily and widely available and has thus generated a better informed public and a higher degree of political deliberation among citizens.

With regard to e-democracy, this study has divided the reform process in Indonesia into two phases. Firstly, before in early 1996 a variety of political organizations within Indonesia started to set up their own mailing lists that functioned as a forum to discuss and to share information about protests distributed via e-mail in the events of 1997 and 1998. In doing so, the Internet clearly facilitated and enhanced the political dynamics and the public outrage against the regime. It becomes clear that ICTs have played an important yet inferior role in the overall transition process, allowing for more development and functional space to be filled in the young democracy, or what I have termed 'democracy 1.0' after the collapse of the Suharto-regime.

Secondly, after the collapse of the regime of President Suharto in 1998, the newly re-elected President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2009 has been struggling to stabilize the social and political conditions as well as to combat corruption in Indonesia. However, large parts of the public remain unsatisfied with any government actions on the process of combating corruption; citizens want the government to continue its efforts to resolve the problem of corruption.

In conclusion, e-governance in Indonesia is in very early stage of infrastructure development with yet little impact of e-governance schemes on democratic governance (see Table 1).

Chapter 5. Conclusion

What conclusion can we thus draw about the role of ICTs, and here in particular of the Internet with regard to the democratization of governance in Indonesia since 1998? I have attempted to argue that e-governance contains the potential to increase the process of democratization of governance. In extension, we can expect to see an enhanced quality of public services through the application of ICTs, i.e. more online information having the potential to enhance transparency and accountability of public sector actors. ICTs contribute to democratization processes in that they enhance communication between active citizens helping to exchange views, voicing their concerns, and thus help to support and organize social movements offline. Moreover, the Internet enables citizens to influence public policy processes. In this respect, the Internet clearly makes more society democratic in that it offers a new channel of political participation. Yet, given the digital divide in Indonesia, the Internet contains at the same time an exclusive element, as it is based on the precondition of having access to this technology and being able to make use of it. Thus, ICTs are clearly only a supplementary to democratic governance reform and never a primary aim or arena of democratic deliberation. In other words, the Internet represents a technological tool that motivated citizens can utilize in order to find additional channels for political participation (see Table 2).

**Table 2: The Role of Internet in the Democratization of Governance in
Indonesia since 1998**

Indicators	Suharto Regime	Post Suharto (Democracy 1.0)
E-government: Public service	Lack of transparency →High corruption	More information online →Enhanced transparency and accountability - Limited online services
E-Democracy: Policy-Making Process	Authoritarian	Communication between active citizens →Support offline
E-Campaigning: Participation	Restricted	More online channels →More citizen participation

Source: Compiled by the author.

Finally, I wish to suggest that beside the above discussed problem of the insufficient technological infrastructure the future progress of utilizing e-governance in Indonesia should consider the following issues: To develop a national government vision with regard to e-governance schemes and ensure leadership and commitment to implement this vision, and develop a plan to enhance collaboration and integration of public services internally and externally, as well as horizontally and vertically. Here, in the beginning the government needs to improve their official governmental web portals and keep up with the growing amount of information flows and online transactions for which new complex security mechanisms must be designed. Moreover, the awareness of ICT users needs to be increased providing them new skills and knowledge through education, since without a digitally literate population the benefits of e-governance will not be realized.

論文審査結果の要旨

本論は、ガバナンス改革において ICT およびインターネットが果たす役割、それらを媒介にした多様で多層にわたる市民参加の様相を、インドネシアを起点にして、日本およびアメリカとの比較を試みた論文であり、全編 5 章から成っている。

第 1 章は序論であり、e-governance、e-government、e-democracy、e-campaigning の概念規定を行う一方、インドネシアのスハルト政権崩壊に伴う政権再編のなかで、ICT およびインターネットを媒介にした市民による能動的な活動がいかに政治・社会再編に寄与したのかという問題提起が行われている。

第 2 章では、トランスナショナル、リージョナル 1、ナショナル、リージョナル 2、ローカルという縦の層と公共、ビジネス、非営利市民の各セクターが果たす水平的なガバナンスの機能を分析し、e-government、e-democracy、e-campaigning についてのマッピングを試みている。今日、ICT およびインターネットが公共サービスを提供していく上でいかに重要な役割を担いつつあるか、いかに有権者の組織化に寄与しているか、能動的市民がガバナンスの民主化を行っていく手段としていかに役立っているのかについて理論的な整理を行い、政党、利益集団、マスメディアなど既存の組織枠組みがすべてインターネットを媒介にした e-governance として脱構築しうる点が解明されている点に、この分野の研究において新しい地平をもたらしうるオリジナルな発想を見てとることができる。

第 3 章では、e-governance、e-government、e-democracy、e-campaigning のそれぞれの分野にわたって、アメリカと日本の比較分析が行われている。アメリカでは、Meetup、MySpace、Facebook、Flickr、YouTube などのネットワーキングを活用した e-campaigning がオバマ大統領の誕生を将来する一方、日本ではインターネットを選挙活動に活用することが極度に制限されており、公職選挙法の改正が必要であることが強調されている。さらに、自民党から民主党への政権交代をもたらす上で、インターネットが少なからず貢献したことが指摘されている。

第 4 章では、前章の比較考察を受けて、インドネシアにおける ICT およびインターネットが、スハルト体制を覆していくための運動の促進力として機能し、さらに 1998 年以降のポスト・スハルト時代において e-government が Web1.0 から Web2.0 へと進展しつつあることが指摘されている。だが、2009 年の e-campaigning においても、インターネットが政党と有権者とのオンライン・コミュニケーションの機能を果たすことができず、e-campaigning をテレビや新聞などオフラインから ICT およびインターネットを媒介にしたオンラインに転換し、Web2.0 レベルを実現すべきことが強調され、インドネシアにおいて e-governance や e-democracy がまだ初期の段階にあり、さらに推進や展開が望まれることが指摘されている。

第 5 章は結論であり、アメリカ、日本、インドネシアにおける e-governance についてまとめの比較検討がなされており、ICT およびインターネットは政治参加を促進していくための追加的な回路にすぎないものだが、こうした手段の活用によって government や democracy のレベルが格段の進歩を遂げる可能性を内包していることが示唆されている。

以上要するに、本論文は、e-campaigning や e-government をより促進していくことにより、e-governance や e-democracy を担う諸アクターが緊密なコミュニケーションの回路を保持することができ、そのことが逆に既存の government や democracy の改革や転換を促していくことができるという新たな可能性を示している点で、ICT の研究開発および実践を基本的な基盤とする情報科学の発展に寄与するところが少なくない。

よって、本論文は、博士（情報科学）の学位論文として合格と認める。